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to be a government agency for promoting exports." And page 255 reads "it is well known that Canada entered in 1911 into a reciprocity arrangement with the United States." The references to American experience are but fragmentary. This task of analyzing the recent changes in the relationship between government and industry in this country still awaits another hand.

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*Socialisation in Theory and Practice.* By HEINRICH STRÖBEL. Translated by H. J. STENNING. (London: P. S. King & Son, Ltd. 1922. Pp. vi, 341. 10s. 6d.)

The comments of Herr Ströbel on this subject are of particular interest as he was Finance Minister in the Prussian Revolutionary Government of 1918, representing the Independent Social Democratic party, although he was later alienated from them because of their sympathy with bolshevism, while disapproving the timid conservatism of the German majority socialists.

The failure of bolshevism in Russia he attributes chiefly to the industrial immaturity of the country. Most of the 3,000,000, odd, industrial workers in European Russia were semi-peasants. Only in Petrograd was there a class-conscious proletariat largely composed of Esthonians, Finns, Letts, and wandering Russians, so that city naturally became the revolutionary storm center in 1917.

The bolshevists had not contemplated socialism at a gallop, but revolutionary fanaticism liberated forces which they could not control. They had counted on the "creative energy" of the masses; whereas the masses, in their blind fury, could only destroy. The bolshevists should now, the author thinks, retreat from untenable positions, but hold, if possible, to the socialization of the basic industries.

The author attributes the collapse of bolshevism in Hungary in part to the war, but chiefly to the chaotic conditions into which the experiment had plunged the country. The members of the Commission of Production, which took over the socialized industries, may have been "good organizers and agitators against capitalism," but they were not commercial or technical experts. The production of labor declined seriously, and with it fell the standard of living of the masses, especially in the city, the peasants being able to take care of themselves relatively well. The ruin of the wealthy brought no relief to the poor, as was foretold long ago by Quesnay and Marx. The author quotes freely from Eugen Varga's *Die wirtschaftlichen Probleme der proletarischen Diktatur*.

The revolution in Germany caught most socialists unprepared, as they had become imbued with evolutionism, had given little thought to

the problems of the transition period, and were overwhelmed by the governmental responsibility suddenly thrust upon them. They had studiously refrained from utopian plans and specifications, trusting to the happy inspiration of the hour and the instinct of the masses, both of which failed at the critical moment. There was no definite plan, no agreement, and no proper social ideology among the masses; so the government could not contend with the capitalists, who knew what they wanted—the rehabilitation of the old social order.

Strange that none of the basic industries were socialized. Various schemes were proposed by economists and others, only to come under fire of the capitalists on the one hand, and the radical socialists on the other. Such was the fate of the plan for the socialization of the mines, proposed on February 15, 1919, by an overwhelming majority of the Socialization Commission, including such men as Ballod, Cunow, Hilferding, Lederer, Schumpeter, Umbreit and Wilbrandt.

The law which was passed later in the year put the fuel industry under control of the Imperial Coal Council of sixty members, representing the employers, the mine workers, the coal-using industries, and the nation. But under this, as its executive organ, was the Imperial Coal Union, which fell under the domination of the syndicates, although three out of its five directors were labor representatives. The labor men invariably agreed to proposals to raise prices, as they were always accompanied by a sop to labor in the form of increased wages; and this conspiracy between employers and laborers controlled the policy of the Union, the Council and the Imperial Minister of Economy.

For all that, the author has not lost faith in the ultimate triumph of socialism, as the only remedy to arrest the downfall of Europe. He would apply the theories of guild socialism to those industries which have passed through the early stage of development to a condition of routine and standardization—such as coal mines, the manufacture of steel, cement, locomotives, telephones, electric cables, motors,—in which, if technical progress has not altogether ceased, the pace has considerably slackened. In such industries the founders and developers need not be considered; the capitalist owners are to be excluded as parasites; and the managers may be employed by the community.

One wonders at the complacency with which the author regards the standardization or fossilization of industry within a given nation, in view of the possible competition of new industries, and the more formidable competition of foreign countries whose industries are not thus stereotyped. But of course the author is a thoroughgoing internationalist.

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